COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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THE ALARMIST. NO. 1.

In vain may heroes fight, and patriots rave;
If secret gold sap on from knave to knave.
POPE.

The name of Alarmist has been used, (for what good reason, it would puzzle even a minister to satisfy the House of Commons) as a term of political opprobrium, and has of late been applied with more than usual acrimony to those who disapprove of the late measures of government: but those men who have raised their voices in this cause have minds too great and too generous to desert their country and withdraw from her their salutary counsel, because they encounter abuse instead of receiving those thanks which are due to their endeavours, to shew our situation in its true light. They lack something of that milky kindness, that parental fondness of Mr. Addington which would leave poor John Bull to be butchered in his sleep, lest the *alarm* which the warning of his danger would occasion, should affect the old gentleman's delicate nerves: John sleeps quietly in his bed whilst his house is beset with robbers; his real friend will not be deterred from waking him, because John (who is a great lover of ease) if he does not immediately see a pistol at his head, will give him a hearty execration, for disturbing him at so unseasonable an hour: but the treacherous pretended friend who has betrayed him to these robbers, protests against *alarming* the dear man, till the villains themselves wake him by bursting into his very chamber. Let the public thus learn to appreciate the merits of the alarmist, and the blind follower of ministers, with whom power is always right, and who can never perceive any possibility of the driver of the state-coach (let him be who he will) erring an angle of one single second from the path of rectitude.

Were it to be asserted that every capital measure of the present ministry has been fundamentally wrong, the author of such a sentiment would immediately be proclaimed by the myrmidons of the treasury, as a man actuated by the worst motives of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. Such would be the language of those shallow men who trumpet forth the praises of government, with the battle of Copenhagen and the conquest of Egypt, flowing unmeaningly from their mouths. Let us look to the causes of these events, and the use which has been made of them; and we shall see how much we are indebted to Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury. The causes may be discovered by the most ignorant and superficial observer: the plan in the late ministry, the success in the valour of our soldiers and sailors: but here the discernment of these sapient admirers of ministers is at an end; that we have made peace with the northern powers and that the French are driven out of Egypt is quite sufficient for them; they look no farther. The alarmist looks to the terms of our treaties with the northern powers, and therein perceives ample subject for dissatisfaction, as well as in the protraction of the negotiation: peace ought to have been dictated the day after the battle to the insolent Danes, who taking advantage of the tameness and imbecility of our government, to this day boast of having beaten us; and indeed any one who judged merely from the conduct of both parties since that day must arrive at the same conclusion. But wherefore dwell upon such antiquated topics, on subjects of regret a year old, when

That of an hour's age doth hiss the speaker:
Each minute teems new grief——

on subjects too, whose importance shrinks to an almost imperceptible point, compared with recent events.

But Egypt is too nearly connected with our present circumstances to be so slightly dismissed. To what purpose have our brave countrymen laid down their lives amidst the burning sands, to what purpose have they so liberally shed their blood, and plucked the palm from the banks of the Nile, to adorn the grave of Abercromby and rival the laurel which nods over the tomb of the immortal Marlborough; when Mr. Addington assumes to himself and his pacific coadjutors, all the glory of this miraculous conquest, and boldly asserts in the House of Commons, *that the evacuation of Egypt was obtained by negotiation!* It is to

be hoped that no one will deny the negotiators that credit which they so well merit, for obtaining leave of Buonaparté for our troops to evacuate Egypt; but if the world is not mistaken, the words "*evacuation of* "*Egypt*" were by Mr. Addington meant to apply to the French army; every individual of which French army was at that time a prisoner of war. Prodigious statesman! After General Menou had stipulated with Lord Hutchinson, for the *favour* of being sent to France, Mr. Addington goes crawling on his knees to Buonaparté, beseeching him that the French army may *evacuate Egypt*; which the First Consul seeing that a French army in Egypt was of little use without arms, and in the custody of a British army, was graciously pleased to grant, provided the British army did the like. And this was the *evacuation of Egypt* obtained by the immortal Addington. Shame on such ministers, such a negotiation, but above all on such an impudent assertion!

Hitherto the present Chancellor of the Exchequer has been considered as a man, though simple, yet well-meaning; as one who would not wilfully set fire to the Thames, or connive at the destruction of our fleet by submarine explosions; even the ruinous measures which he has taken since his entry into office, have been ascribed by many who disapprove of them to mere weakness; it has been said, "He is a "mighty good sort of man, and knows no "better." But from the means he has used to defend those measures, the alarmist forms a very different idea of the principles and motives which have actuated his conduct: whence otherwise that boastful empty panegyrick on himself and his associates on the discussion of this most disgraceful treaty? Would a man of candour, or manly feeling, have arrogated to himself the merit of expelling the French from Egypt?* Would he have called the peace *glorious*, or told us that he had every reason to believe that it will be as lasting as any peace between the two countries can be or ever has been? Mean as is the opinion which many men have formed of his abilities, let it not for the honour of the British nation be thought, that he is so consummately ignorant as to believe any such thing. Lastly, would he, if a spark of generosity was lodged in his bosom, or if he thought his conduct by fair means defensible, have recurred to the expedient of mean, vile aspersions, on the motives and character of those who reprobated it? Such was that most unwarrantable assertion, "that Mr. Windham was adverse "to peace generally, and had determined "to raise an outcry against it, before he "knew a single article of the terms." But this calumny leads whither Mr. Addington perhaps would not wish it. The fact seems to have been, that he was determined to have peace, let the terms be what they might. Conscious of their own inability, the ministry staked their credit upon making peace, as the only means of preserving for a few months longer their short-lived popularity: they well knew, that if this endeavour failed, they must cede the reins of government into more able hands; and to the preservation of their places they have sacrificed the security of their country. Even when this resolution was made, the smallest degree of prudence and political knowledge would have obtained better terms, than those to which they have subscribed: was there any necessity for making it so publicly known that they had determined to have peace? They have shewn less care in managing the interests of their country, than they must necessarily use in their own private daily concerns. Would Mr. Addington, upon going into a shop to make a purchase, point to the article which he wanted, telling the owner that he was determined to have it let the price be what it might? Does he not know that the natural consequence would be (if the fellow had any thing of the Jew in him, which I am sorry to say is the case with our new friends) that he would pay double for the commodity? Would it not be absurd after such a declaration to stand disputing about shillings and six-pences? Yet such has been his proceeding in buying peace of Buonaparté; for a purchase on our part it certainly has been; we have laid down our hard cash, our *terra firma*, and our live and dead stock, for which we have got peace: our ministers seem to have forgot that we gave France peace too. To those who regard peace as being to the full as valuable and desirable to France as to us, amongst whom the alarmist is one, this purchase appears a very extraordinary bargain.

Advertisement.

The Alarmist will sound his trumpet once a week, to inform his old friend John Bull of the enemy's approach. John is particularly requested to be on his guard against all impostors and pretended friends, who will slander his true friend the

Alarmist, and would persuade him to hang up his arms, till they grow rusty: but he is advised to keep them scoured and in good order, and never to go abroad without a pistol in his pocket; also to keep himself in the habit of fighting, by the exercise of manly sports, such as singlesticks, boxing, and *bull-baiting*; as he will shortly be called upon to fight a more desperate battle than ever, compared with which all his former bouts will seem to have been mere play. Above all things he is earnestly entreated to avoid the *methodist conventicle, a place which is found woefully to debase all the nobler passions of the mind.*

TO THE EDITOR.

Sir,

From your patriotic sentiments, the general tenour of your writings, and the laudable zeal with which you have so successfully laboured to develop the dishonourable nature and ruinous tendency of the peace, which has been made with Buonaparté, I certainly expected that you would *not* merely point out our danger, but that you would, at the same time, endeavour to suggest such measures as might possibly avert the evil. Hitherto, however, your exertions, although I am confident of their proceeding from the best of motives, are, I fear, in no very essential degree calculated to extricate your country from the perilous situation in which she is placed. Nay, indeed, does not the general strain of your strictures on the peace tend rather to produce *despondency*, which, when predominant in a state, may, in like manner, as when indulged by an individual, be considered as a prelude to inevitable destruction? It is true, by shewing the bad effects which have resulted, and must still necessarily result, from the abject conduct of the present administration, you have so far acted the part of a *surgeon* who probes the wound of his patient. But *he* does so only with a view of ascertaining the remedy which it may be necessary to apply; and when he is acquainted with the depth and nature of the wound, a skilful surgeon no longer deems expedient a repetition of the operation by which he acquired that knowledge, because such a procedure would tend greatly to retard the cure, if not to render it totally impracticable. Ought you not, Sir, to advert to this in your animadversions *on the dangerous wound which our country has received?* You have certainly now fully ascertained the extent of it; you have proven —ably proven, to the conviction of every unprejudiced lover of his country, that the peace of Amiens is the most unpropitious one for this country that ever was made. What advantage, then, can possibly accrue from a further discussion of the subject? *None*, I apprehend; for, those who obstinately with-hold their assent from the facts which you have stated, you may rest assured, will continue to resist all the arguments that can be made use of.

When I consider the deleterious nature of the dart which the weakness of ministers has allowed to penetrate so near the vitals of the country, I cannot help admitting that there is *apparently* no probability of its not being attended with fatal effects. But, upon more mature reflection, I am well convinced that, although the danger is great indeed, our case is not yet altogether desperate. We cannot, I fear, expect *ever* to regain that state of prosperity as a nation which we lately enjoyed; but we certainly still have it in our power to meliorate our situation, or, at least, to prevent it from becoming worse than it really is. Let us not, then give way to despair; let us rather endeavour to bring to our aid that which can alone prove an efficacious antidote; let us strive to rouse our statesmen from that apathy into which they seem to have fallen; let us display the genuine characteristics of Britons—loyalty, patriotism, and firmness.

In a future letter, I shall make a few observations on what I conceive to be the source of our present misfortunes, and what has doubtless produced that apparent dereliction of principle and indifference with respect to the honour of the nation, without the admission of which, the circumstance of the terms of the peace having met with the approbation of Parliament would be totally inexplicable by any maxims of reason.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient
and very humble Servant,
Philo-Misogalli.

Sharny-hillock, June 10, 1802.

TO THE EDITOR.

Gum Trade.

Sir,

I should not have troubled you again upon this subject, if I had not observed a mis-

representation, which must have escaped you inadvertently. You say (p. 597) concerning the negotiators at Versailles, that, "if they had meant treaties existing at the "moment when they were speaking, to "talk of the necessity of *renewing* them, "&c. would have been a downright absur-"dity." There is no mention in their declaration of the necessity of *renewing* treaties, but there is of the inconvenience of *abrogating* them; which expression militates directly against your argument. I may perhaps be allowed this opportunity of observing, that the new grounds of argument in your last letter appear to me very insufficient. I conceive, that "when the con-"queror obtains a cession of his conquests," his former title is not annulled, but confirmed; that the cession is little more, than an acknowledgment of the enemy, that he will not disturb the enjoyment of that title, which during the war he continued to dispute. It is a renunciation of his pretensions, strengthening, not cancelling, the title of the conqueror. I think also, that you will not easily establish, that "the "right of conquest," (by which you mean all the rights arising from conquest) "must "be abandoned the moment the territory "is, no matter by what means, in posses-"sion of another;" notwithstanding any reservation of particular rights, or qualification of the new possession. The following passage in Vattel (b. ii. § 89) may tend to throw some light upon the subject. "We "may grant the right of fishing in a river, "or on the coast, that of hunting in the "forests, &c. and when once these rights "have been validly ceded, they constitute "a part of the possessions of him, who has "acquired them, and ought to be respected "in the same manner, as his former pos-"sessions." *A fortiori* they must be so considered, if, instead of being held by grant upon foreign soil, they have been reserved upon his former territory. I shall not prolong this discussion, which might become tedious; and shall take my leave of the subject, hoping, that, if ministers did not intend the abandonment of this trade, they will not complete the restitution of Senegal, till the right shall have been acknowledged by France.

"Viribus utendum est, quas fecimus; arma tenenti
"Omnia dat, qui justa negat: neque numina deerunt,
"Nam nec præda meis, neque regnum quæritur armis;
"Detrahimus dominos urbi."——

I wish, that truth did not compel me to add "servire paratæ."

I remain, Sir,
Your obedient humble Servant,
W—— H——.

May 23, 1802.

Extract from the Report of the Select Committee of the Directors of the East-India Company.

(Continued from p. 624.)

"If objections are made against this comparison, there can be none when a comparison is made between different periods of Mr. Dundas's own administration. In 1793, on the renewal of the Charter, the Directors estimated the final surplus in India, as applicable to investment, to be.... £1,409,127
Deduct the proceeds of the Europe exports..... 350,000

Remains a political surplus of..... £1,159,127

"It is true that Mr. Dundas objected to this estimate, which in his opinion was much too low; but if to that sum shall be added the present deficiency of..... £417,807
there will appear against the Company, in their annual political income, a difference of a million and a half, which may easily be swelled to two millions sterling annually, when the arrears of debt are funded, and bear an interest.*

"The differences of opinion which *may* arise on the question of income, in consequence of the numberless details necessary for the purpose of forming an estimate, cannot exist on the subject of debts which are comprised within a few lines. By the returns alluded to before, the debts at the three Presidencies were stated, the 23d of January, 1784, £4,521,685.

"At that time there was a large arrear not known in Europe; the exact amount of which it is difficult to ascertain; but suppose that it swelled the debt to..... £10,000,000

"In the letter from Mr. Dundas, and in the budget which he delivered in the House, the debt in India is admitted to be..... £14,432,717

"A very considerable augmentation has been ascertained by the advices received by the Georgina Packet; and if there was an arrear of five millions and a half upon a debt of four millions and a half, in 1783-4, the apprehensions of your Committee cannot be considered as overstrained. The more so, as we find that the Treasury, for want of money, has been obliged to issue notes, payable nine months after date, with an interest of twelve per cent. In such a predicament, the aid of the fortunes of individuals to be remitted to Europe, and which are intercepted by the private traders, would have been of great public utility.

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* The advices received by the Georgina mention that the investment from Bengal for the Company will be reduced to £294,000; the funds usually applied for that purpose must therefore have been absorbed by political expenses, and to private traders, for rice and indigo, whilst the fortunes of individuals are intercepted by the same persons, instead of aiding the Company's investment.

"In contemplating the real situation of the Company in the year 1783-4, we find one source of revenue created, and another improved by the superior talents and profound local knowledge of Mr. Hastings, which have more than compensated for the whole of the expenses of the war under his administration. In twenty years (including the estimate for 1800-1801,) the duty on salt has produced net £14,143,400
The profit on opium..... 2,577,800

Total..... £16,721,200

"We have, unfortunately, no sources of this description to look to at present. The subsidies, and general improvements, have been absorbed in extensive additional establishments.

"When Marquis Cornwallis, with that wisdom and magnanimity which have distinguished his conduct through life, stopped short under the walls of Seringapatam, the consequences were comparative ease, security, and prosperity to the affairs of the Company and to the empire in India; whilst the brilliant destruction of a formidable rival, under the administration of Marquis Wellesley, has been followed by circumstances of difficulty and distress.

"These discussions and comparisons are painful in the extreme; but when the Company find that attempts are made, and supported by such powerful interest, to deprive them of the only means to restore their affairs, under unfounded pretences, it is indispensable for your Committee and for the Court, to divest themselves of their private feelings, in order to do justice to the Company and to the Public. Every person must, however, admit the extreme patience and forbearance of the Court of Directors, who have used every endeavour to obtain time, for the sole purpose of conciliation. They cannot yet persuade themselves that their rights will be destroyed, as every assurance, and every disposition which your Committee can reasonably expect, they have experienced from his Majesty's present Ministers.

"In this situation, which Mr. Dundas represents as prosperous, he thinks that, with the assistance, and through the medium of her commerce, the Company will surmount every difficulty in the course of a few years; but instead of being relieved by delaying the payment of about a million sterling due to Government for duties, as was done in 1783-4, he is aware that much more substantial means are necessary. Without the benefit of the growing produce of the revenue from salt and opium, or any thing similar thereto, with more than double the amount of political debts to discharge, and groaning under the enormous increase of military expense and establishments, he proposes to call on the Proprietors of East-India Stock, to raise no less a sum than four millions sterling, for what he calls commercial purposes, but which, in truth, is to discharge political debts. Your Committee humbly conceive that, before the Court of Directors can consent to recommend such a measure to their constituents, they will satisfy themselves, not only about the propriety and correctness of the proposal, but that it will produce the effect intended; and that the subject may appear more distinctly before the Court, your Committee submit the following state of the present capital of the Company:—

		Per cent.	
Original capital..	£3,200,000	- 87½ ..	£2,800,000
Additional 1786..	800,000	- 155 ..	1,240,000
Ditto.... 1789..	1,000,000	- 174 ..	1,740,000
Ditto.... 1793..	1,000,000	- 200 ..	2,000,000

"The first, or original capital, was sufficient to enable the Company to carry on their trade, when it was truly exclusive for near a century; the three last sums have been added, during the administration of Mr. Dundas, for commercial purposes.

"The proposition will appear still more extraordinary, when it is considered that the Company are called on to raise four millions, and at the same time to admit the Indian agents to a participation, indeed to the essence of their exclusive trade: for it never can be denied that the four millions are to be raised, for the express purpose of discharging *political* debts. It would, therefore, have been more equitable and just to have called on the second Company, the Indian Agents and Traders, to have raised the four millions in question. Hitherto, the commercial profits of the Company have been more than sufficient to pay the dividends to the Proprietors; a considerable surplus has arisen from the commerce, although that surplus has not appeared so large as it ought to have been, from the Company's adherence to the old forms of making up their accounts; and every rupee which has been received from that source, as well as from the Revenue, has been applied towards the expense of the war in India. Will the Indian Agents and Traders submit to a limitation of their profit, in the same manner as the Company? Will they pay what they get, over and above 5 per cent. (for the Proprietors, upon the price they have paid for their stock, divide little more) into the public Treasury, for the benefit of the State? And what is more extraordinary, whilst every subject of his Majesty may participate in the commercial stock of the Company, if he has the means, the object of the private traders is to preserve the privilege and preference which they solicit, entirely to themselves. If, however, the State participates in the profit, a trade so carried on, is more truly beneficial to the Public in their collective capacity, than if it were abandoned to individuals, even in the event of their success; for though individuals might be enriched, Government would suffer.

"These advantages, and many others which the Public enjoy at present, will vanish when private traders are admitted to exclusive privileges. Much may be done, and the Company are ready to exert every endeavour, and to employ every means for that purpose; but if success is expected from them, they desire, in return, that such resources and powers as they now possess, shall remain unimpaired—that the exclusive trade to India, under the regulations of the Act of 1793, shall be maintained, and that the conduct and management of their commercial concerns shall rest with the executive body of the East-India Company.

"The prospect of peace gives a new turn, and a much greater degree of importance, to the whole of this question; whilst the enemies of the Company will press with more than usual earnestness, and exert every nerve for a speedy decision, under a pretence that delay is dangerous.

"There can be no difficulty to assert, that delay will be dangerous, nay, fatal to their cause; for the experience of one, or at most two seasons, will refute every argument they have used, and destroy those fallacious, chimerical plans and estimates, by means of which they have obtained so much credit.

"The foreign trade must revive, and there are good reasons to think will increase, which is much to be desired, so long as foreigners pay for the manufactures and produce of India in silver, or in such a manner as shall not interfere materially with the avowed policy of this country. And your Com-

mittee have no doubt that if the private traders were compelled to export British manufactures, and restrained in their exportation of silver, that their imports in India will be greatly reduced.

"Every nation will endeavour to employ their own ships; in addition to which, foreign ships can be navigated cheaper than those built either in India or Great-Britain.

"These two points are decisive against the Indian Agents. It is impossible to bring the whole of the foreign trade to the River Thames under such circumstances, or to prevent a considerable diminution of the foreign trade, which has been brought to the River Thames during the war; in which case, the Indian Agents cannot increase their own trade, but at the expense of the Company. And as the Indian trade to the River Thames must be considerably diminished in the event of peace, whether that reduction falls on the Company or on private individuals, it must operate to lessen the means of employing those British ships which are already in the service."

(To be continued.)

SHIP-OWNER'S PETITION.

In the House of Commons, on the 17th instant, Mr. Alderman Lushington presented a petition from the ship-owners resident within the limits of the Port of London, setting forth, That during the present session of parliament an act having passed, wherein certain duties were charged on the tonnage of "ships and vessels entering outwards or inwards (except in ballast) in any port of Great-Britain, to or from foreign parts;" and also certain duties "on oil and strins the produce of the British Fisheries;" and that the said duties would be extremely oppressive on them and all other persons who were engaged in British shipping.

That they begged leave to represent, with the deepest regret, that British shipping, from many causes, independent of the before-mentioned duties, laboured under great depression, so that the most injurious consequences to the kingdom might be feared, if the additional burthen of those duties was continued to be imposed upon the tonnage of its shipping.

That the principle on which the said act was founded, militated against the spirit of the various statutes, which, for a course of centuries, had from time to time been enacted by the legislature of this country for the increase and encouragement of its shipping and navigation, and which had uniformly produced the most beneficial effects; and that these effects had lately been conspicuous to the whole world, in the strength of our navy, the number of our mercantile shipping, and in the spirit and enterprize of the persons interested in them.

They submitted to the house, that the strength of the British navy, the true source of the security and glory of the country, must ever depend upon the number, dexterity, courage, and loyalty of her seamen, who could only be preserved for the services of war by their finding constant employment in the merchants' service and fisheries during the time of peace; and that they most seriously apprehended that the inevitable consequences of the operation of the before-mentioned duties would not only be the still further depression of what remained of the British shipping employed in the commerce of the country; but would likewise greatly tend to weaken the means of its maritime defence, and accelerate the departure of multitudes of British seamen from their native land, driven to gain subsistence, and perhaps imbibe foreign affections and habits, in foreign and rival states.

That they most humbly trusted those considerations would appear of still greater importance, when it was recollected, that all the other maritime powers of Europe are at this time sedulously employed in adopting measures for the increase of their shipping, the encouragement of their fisheries, and the augmentation of their navies, and that at a time, when, from the general state of Europe, the shipping of Great-Britain had fallen in their value from 30 to 40 per cent. and when numbers of British vessels lay unemployed, and many of them engaged on voyages that would turn out unproductive; and when numbers of British seamen were emigrating to France, under the assurances which were made to them, of being employed in the fisheries and merchant's service of that country.

They therefore humbly hoped the House would counteract the injurious effects which would be produced by the continuance of a tax that would prove at once dangerous to the shipping and naval interests of Great-Britain, and oppressive and ruinous to those individuals who had embarked their property in British bottoms; and prayed, that so much of the act, as imposed the duties on the tonnage "of ships and vessels," and also the duties on the importation of "oil and strins, the produce of the British fisheries," might be repealed.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

In the House of Lords, (Wednesday June 9) the *Earl of Suffolk* on the third reading of the Militia Augmentation Bill, made some observations on that clause of the bill which limited to twenty-one days yearly the time of exercise. Thirty-eight days would, in his opinion, have been barely sufficient. After some of the business before the house had been dispatched, the order of the day was proceeded to, for going into a committee on the County Bridges Bill. It was opposed by the *Duke of Norfolk*, *the Earl of Suffolk*, and other noble lords. The question for going into a committee was negatived, and a second being put that the bill should be committed that day two months, was carried without a division.

The next day (Thursday, June 10,) *Lord Moira* stated to the house, that from the difficulty of procuring proper information, and the judges wanting more time to consider the subject, he should postpone bringing forward his intended bill on the subject of imprisonment for debt till early the next session.

Nothing particular occurred in the house on the following days.

On Monday, (June 14,) a conversation of some length arose between the *Earl of Suffolk*, and *Lords Pelham*, *Holland*, and the

Lord Chancellor, in consequence of the *Earl of Suffolk* calling the attention of the house to an account which had been laid on the table of the amount of the proceeds on the sale of old naval stores. It concluded by a motion for papers illustrative of the subject, which was agreed to.

The house was chiefly occupied the next day (Tuesday, June 15,) with the Scotch Militia Bill; which, after some considerable discussion, and the insertion of many amendments, was gone through, and the report ordered to be received the next day.

In the House of Commons, on Wednesday, (June 9,) *Sir Wm. Scott* on moving the order of the day on the Clergy Bill to be read, thus addressed the chair: Mr. Speaker, I beg to be indulged with a few words on the subject to which this order applies. When I undertook this bill, it was not without a full knowledge, and I must add not without a painful sense of the difficulties that would present themselves in the execution of the task. The bill was to operate upon a subject involved in many questions, and leading to many consequences of great public importance, and directly affecting the rights and duties of a very numerous class of persons. Persons entitled, according to my consideration of them, to be treated with great kindness and respect; with as much of both as is consistent with the nature, the *comparative* nature (for such it necessarily is) of an act of legislation. Having undertaken the task at the request of those whose requests have the authority of commands with me in all matters that do not affect the proper independence of my public conduct, I cannot tax myself with negligence in the prosecution of it; I have given it as much attention as was consistent with the attention due to other public duties which have their demands upon me. But the matter has been unavoidably protracted from various causes, from which I can neither take blame to myself nor at all impute it to others—but principally from an anxious desire of collecting the opinions of other men on a subject on which I know that an infinite diversity of opinions prevailed; opinions which I fear cannot be united, but which it was highly desirable to approximate to each other as far as was possible, in the construction of any bill that could be proposedwith the hope of final effect. But, Sir, I am under the necessity of looking at the advanced stage of the session; I look at the probable thinness of attendance in the house; I look at the importunity of other calls of public business which press upon the attention of parliament. And when I look at these, I cannot but fear that this bill will not receive the discussion which a bill of such importance ought to receive, and which no man wishes more sincerely it should receive than myself; for no man can be more adverse to its being hurried through the house without due deliberation. If it will not stand the test of a careful inquiry, I shall be the first to say peace to its manes! That test cannot be applied at present; and therefore, I think, I shall best discharge my duty to the public by forbearing to press it upon the house this session, under the hope and expectation, that it will be revived in a very early period of the next, when I trust it will be adopted with very beneficial results both to the clergy and the public. The house will probably agree with me, that a continuance of the suspending bill will be no more than a just protection to the clergy in the interim; that is a measure which I leave in other hands; my duty is performed by declaring that I do not press the progress of this bill any further this season.

After some other business before the house had been gone through, the house resolved itself into a committee of supply, to which the army and ordnance estimates, and the accounts of the unfunded debt, and the charge of the yeomanry corps in Ireland were referred. *Mr. Eliot* then moved for a vote of 70,000 men for the sea service, for seven lunar months, commencing the 18th June, 1802,-including 14,000 marines. In answer to a question of *Mr. Tierney* relative to the permanent peace establishment, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* replied, that he thought 30,000 men would be sufficient for it, but would not pledge himself to that number The motion was agreed to, and the committee then voted

For wages for the said 70,000 men for the same period, at 37s. per man per month - - - - -	906,500	0	0
For victuals for the said men for the same period, at 38s. per man per month - - - - -	931,000	0	0
For wear and tear of the ships in which the said men are employed, at 8l. per man per month -	1,470,000	0	0
For ordnance for the sea service, at 5s. per month. - - -	122,500	0	0

The *Secretary at War* then rose and stated to the committee the army services for the remainder of the year, and the difference between the proposed establishment, and

the war establishment as voted from the 25th of December to the 24th of March. In that view the account would be as follows:

	Men.	Expense. £.	s.	d.
Guards, Garrisons, and Plantations. War Establishment	161,364	5,432,000	0	0
Proposed Establishment	95,793	3,104,000	0	0
Difference	65,571	2,328,000	0	0
General and Staff Officers.				
War Establishment		140,700	0	0
Proposed Establishment		50,300	0	0
Difference		90,400	0	0
Militia and Fencible Infantry.				
War Establishment	103,925	2,941,800	0	0

The whole expense under this head would be saved for the remainder of the year.

Offices - - - - - £117,350.

In the war office the expense was very considerable, but it was hoped that the time would soon arrive when it might be reduced. The Right Hon. Gentleman next laid before the committee the following items.

War Establishment.

Allowance to Inn-keepers	£537,000
Proposed Establishment	232,000
Difference	305,000
War Establishment—Half Pay	£.225,000
Proposed Establishment	403,000
Excess	176,000
War Establishment—Volunteer Corps, taking the proportion of the last five months	£.1,154,000
War Establishment—Barracks	940,000
Proposed Establishment	740,000
Difference	200,000

In the first, the third, and the fourth, of these items, considerable reductions might be hoped. That the half-pay list must increase was sufficiently obvious. The Right Hon. Gentleman then proceeded to state more particularly the intended reduction. It was, he said, proposed to reduce

6 Regiments of Dragoons	5,093 men.	£.262,334
17 Additional Battalions of old Regiments of Foot, and 4 young Regiments to be disbanded	20,862 men.	£.580,443

Some of these, however, it would be necessary to keep on foot till the troops now on foreign service return from abroad. It was also intended to reduce the royal garrison battalion, and six West-India regiments. The invalids likewise would be reduced altogether.

Number of invalids	7,806 men.	£197,005
Fort guards, a reduction of	5,475 men.	£156,355

The Cavalry which it was proposed to have in service for the remainder of the year were three regiments of horse guards, seven of dragoon guards, and twenty of dragoons. Each regiment was to consist of eight troops of sixty men in a troop. The foot guards would remain the same as the last peace. The regiments of foot it was proposed to number from one to eighty-nine. The whole number of infantry would be 48,051. The regiment of riflemen, the waggon corps, and the staff corps, it was intended to keep up. Three regiments only of foreign corps were to be retained. With respect to those foreign corps which were to be disbanded, he trusted that a liberal compensation would be made to their officers. He should propose a vote of £321,000 for that purpose, and for the maintenance of the corps retained. The royal military college also, upon an economical scale, would have been an expense of £6369 per annum. It was proposed likewise, to keep up the royal military asylum.

He concluded by moving his first resolution, for providing 70,299 land forces, including officers, for the service of Great-Britain and Ireland, from the 25th of June 1802, to the 24th of December following.

This statement was animadverted upon by *Mr. Banks*, who contended against a peace establishment of such magnitude, as no less dangerous than expensive. He contrasted our present situation with that in which we stood in the year 1791, and urged that we were at that period in a more advantageous state with regard to our revenues than we now are. Mr. *Banks* was replied to by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and *Mr. Vansittart*. The resolution was agreed to. The *Secretary at War* then moved the following sums.

Pay, &c. of Army for Great-Britain	£.770,391
Ditto for Ireland	439,000
Ditto Plantations	315,852
Cavalry	17,919
Recruiting	130,000
Irish Cavalry, Watch-coats, &c.	474,000
Staff-Officers in Great-Britain	13,868
Ditto in Ireland	13,868
Commissioned Officers in Ireland	7,084
Supernumerary Officers in Great Britain	27,754
Ditto in Ireland	1,200
Quartermasters, Agents, Controllers, &c. &c.	10,855
Ditto in Ireland	5,194
Allowance for Small-Beer,	140,000
Ditto for Ireland	60,615
Half-pay in Great-Britain	35,035
Ditto for Ireland	6,214
Marines, &c. Half-pay in Great-Britain	144,400
Ditto Ireland	26,161
Half-pay to reduced Officers,	45,205

Several Officers, formerly in the Service of the States-General	753
Chelsea Hospital	126,511
Kilmainham Hospital	27,953
Volunteer Corps in Great-Britain	72,000
Ditto Ireland	68,000
Barracks in Great-Britain	297,982
Ditto Ireland	136,990
Foreign Corps	321,800

After some observations from *Mr. Robson*, the motion was agreed to, as were also three other motions for granting £6,369 for the military college, £13,000 to the Royal Military Asylum, at Chelsea, and £1,6191 for medicines, bedding, and hospital contingencies in Ireland. *Mr. Sargent* then moved the sum of £272,266 for the service of the ordnance, which was granted.

For the ordnance of Ireland not provided for	£17,088
For the ordnance service not provided for in 1801.	102,119

The Irish supplies were brought forward by *Mr. Corry*, who moved that the sum of £372,158, be granted for the payment of treasury bills due within the year 1802.

For printing and binding the Journals of the Irish Parliament	£2,325
For printing and binding the Irish Statutes	6,951
For Persons employed in making Indexes, &c. to ditto	2,584
For certain Officers employed in making up Public Accounts	2,243

These several resolutions were agreed to, and the report was ordered to be received the next day.

The house now resolved itself into a committee on a proposition for augmenting the salary of the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland. *Mr. Corry* moved that the salary should be augmented to £10,000. After some debate the motion was agreed to.

On the report of the committee of supply on the peace establishment being brought up the next day, (Thursday, June 10,) *Mr. Fox* objected to the large military force which was to be kept up, and which, in his mind, could only be rendered necessary by improper measures. It ought not, he urged, at the utmost to be larger than the establishment of 1793. In reply, it was contended, by the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, that it was impossible not to acknowledge that, from the present state of Europe, a much larger force was necessary now than in the year 1793, and that such an enlarged establishment was not inconsistent with the truest principles of economy. After some business had been gone through, the question was put that the house should resolve itself into a committee on the Irish controverted election bill. It was strongly opposed by *Mr. Foster*, *Lord Temple*, and *Sir James Erskine*. *Mr. Lee*, *Colonel Bagwell*, and *Mr. Corry* defended the principle of the bill. The question for going into a committee was carried by 58 votes against 11.

On Friday June 11, after some accounts had been presented, and motions made, *Mr. Dickinson* brought up a bill for the further suspension of the act of Henry VIII. respecting the residence of the clergy. It was read a first time. *Mr. Nicholls* moved for certain papers relative to the affairs of the Carnatic, which were ordered. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved, that the account of the bounties on corn and rice imported into Scotland—of Exchequer Bills issued on the credit of aids by Parliament not provided for, &c. for the year 1800—of bills drawn on New South Wales, becoming due in the present year—of the estimate of expenses for the repair of roads and bridges, &c. in Scotland—of the expense of the board of agriculture—of the Veterinary College—of the Sierra Leona Company establishment, &c. now before the House, be referred to a committee of supply,—which being ordered accordingly, he moved the order of the day for the House resolving itself into a committee of the whole House, to consider further of a supply to be granted to His Majesty.

The House having resolved itself into a committee, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* proceeded to state the deficiencies of the consolidated fund, which it would be necessary to make good, and also, several other items which remained to be granted. He concluded by moving, that a sum not exceeding £2,676,600 should be granted to make good deficiencies of the consolidated fund. This resolution was put and carried, as were also the following sums.

	£.	s.	d.
For the Payment of Exchequer Bills for the year 1800, by way of Aid for Foreign Subsidies, &c.	1,006,493	7	1½
For the Amount of Bills drawn on account of New South Wales, to become due in 1802.	30,000	0	0
For the Importation of Corn, Meal, Flour, and Rice, into Scotland, in the year 1802,.....	22,082	0	8
For repairing Military Roads, Bridges, &c. in North Britain, for the year 1802,.....	6,012	14	1
For the Expense of the Board of Agriculture, for 1802,.....	300	0	0
For the Support of the Veterinary College, for 1802	1,500	0	0
For the Support of the British Museum, for 1802.....	3,000	0	0
For the Support of the Levant Trade, for 1802.....	5,000	0	0
To pay Mr. Edwards money ad-			

vanced by him on the Loan of 1795, and forfeited for want of future Payments.....	1,108 0 0

The attention of the committee was next called to the Sierra Leona Company, by *Lord Castlereagh*. His lordship contended that the object of the company was a most meritorious one; that the natives of the country had proved themselves capable of cultivation and improvement; that the effect of this would be beneficial to Europe, and to this country in particular; and that the original object of the company having in a great measure failed, it was necessary to cultivate the country. The noble Lord then stated, that an expense of £10,000 had been incurred, in removing the Maroons, and Nova Scotia Blacks to Sierra Leona, which it was necessary to provide for. He concluded by moving the sum of £10,000 for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the civil establishment of the Sierra Leona Company. The utility of the colony was denied by *General Gascoyne*, *Mr. Dent*, and *Mr. Law*, and asserted by *Mr. Thornton*, and the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. It was said, by those who opposed the motion, that the Timmanays, instead of being docile and tractable, were ferocious and bloody; and that under the pretence of propagating the christian religion, the missionaries carried on a traffic in British spirits with the inhabitants. To the first charge no answer was made; but, to the second, it was replied, that not brandy, but baize formed the medium of traffic. The sum moved was granted. The House having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved several resolutions relative to the surplus of the consolidated fund, the raising a loan of £15,00,000 on exchequer bills, the payment of the remaining £100,000 of the Queen of Portugal's subsidy, and the issuing a sum of £114,000, being the surplus of grants of 1801. The resolutions were agreed to. In the course of his statement the right hon. gentleman adverted to the imperial annuities, on the subject of which he read part of a letter from the minister of his Imperial Majesty in answer to a strong representation made on the part of the English government. In that letter the imperial court promised to use every means for the liquadation of the debt.

Nothing of much moment occurred in the House on Saturday (June 12.) An annuity of £2,000 a year, to commence from the 2d of September 1801, was granted to *Lord Hutchinson*. After some conversation, *Lord Sheffield* withdrew a motion which he had made for leave to bring in a bill to direct parish officers to make a return of the amount of the poor's rates raised in the years 1800, 1801, and 1802.

On Monday (June 14th,) *Mr. Forster* rose to make a motion relative to the general orders issued from the adjutant general's office in May last. In these orders it was stated, that it discharged those who had engaged to serve in the militia. This was an act for which there was no authority, as by the Militia Bill, neither the adjutant-general, nor the government, had the power of issuing such orders. After some further observations, the hon. gentleman concluded by moving an address, for a copy of the order. A conversation took place, and the motion was dropped by *Mr. Forster* on his being assured that it was intended to bring forward the papers next day. The House then went into a committee of supply, in which the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the following sums, which were agreed to.

The Ordinances of the Navy.....	£637,216
The Extraordinaries of the Navy.....	360,233
Transport Service and Prisoners of War..	608,500
Sick Prisoners of War.....	12,000
Valuation of Dutch Ships.....	199,212
Foreign and Secret Service.....	90,000
Increase of Pay to Naval Officers.....	30,000
Police Offices.....	1,290
Trial of George Stratton, Esq.....	1,184
Expences of Commissions for carrying into Execution the 6th and 7th Articles of the Treaty with America.....	11,948
Republishing the Journals of the House of Commons.....	4,065
Keeping the Journals of ditto during the present Session.....	12,000
Expenses of collecting the Population of Country.....	612
Repairing the House of Commons.....	19,991
New Office for the Duchy of Cornwall..	698
State Prisoners.....	333
Army Extraordinaries.....	1,000,000

The sum of £50,000, for the army extraordinaries of Ireland, was then moved, by *Mr. Corry*, and agreed to, after some observations from *Mr. Tierney*. The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* now rose for the purpose of recapitulating the various heads of supply, and ways and means, and of making a comparison between the supplies of the present year and the last.

WAYS AND MEANS.

Duty on Pensions, Offices, personal Estates, &c.....	£2,000,000
Duty on Malt.....	750,000
Lottery.....	370,000
Surplus Subscription on Exchequer Bills funded.....	180,674
Surplus Grants, 1801.....	114,000
Surplus Grants for Portugal.....	99,886

Surplus Consolidated Fund		4,500,000
Exchequer Bills on Aids, 1803	5,000,000	6,500,000
Ditto for Bank ditto....	1,500,000	
Loan		23,000,000
		37,514,760
To be provided for by Ireland		3,815,718
		41,330,478

SUPPLIES, 1801.

Navy (including Ordnance Sea Service)	£15,857,037	
Vote of Credit	1,000,000	
Paid out of Supplies 1802	2,155,190	
		£19,012,227
Army.....	9,617,039	
Extraordinaries	2,500,000	
Paid out of Supplies 1802	1,945,554	
Vote of Credit	1,000,000	
On account of Ireland ..	3,935,017	
		18 997,610
Ordnance	1,639,055	
On account of Ireland ..	299,907	
		1,938,962
Miscellaneous	637,876	
On account of Ireland ..	212,391	
		850,267
		£40,799,066

SUPPLIES, 1802.

Navy (including Ordnance Sea Service)	£11,833,573	
Towards discharging Debt.....	2,000,000	
	13,833,573	
Deduct paid for Services 1801	2,155,190	
		11,678,383
Army.....	6,764,621	
Extraordinaries	1,600,000	
Do. unprovided for in 1801	1,847,174	
On account of Ireland ..	2,640,173	
	12,851,968	
Deduct paid for Services 1801	1,945,554	
		10,906,414
Ordnance	1,192,274	
On account of Ireland ..	203,076	
		1,395,350
Miscellaneous	921,861	
On account of Ireland ..	273,119	
		1,194,980
		25,175,127
Less than in 1801.....		15,623,939
		£40,799,066

He would not, the right hon. gentleman said, pledge himself that such would be the exact difference, but the saving would certainly be great. It might perhaps be asked, why he then contracted for so large a loan? To this he would, in reply, state, the sums belonging to the supplies of 1802, for which provision had been made from grants of the present session. The following sums were included in the supplies of 1802, though not a part of the services of that year.

Deficiency Malt Duty, 1800	£429,774
To pay off Exchequer Bills on Aids, 1800	1,066,493
Navy for Services, 1801	2,155,190
Army ditto	1,945,554
Civil List Debt	990,053
To pay off Ex. Bills in possession of Bank	1,500,000
Deficiency Goods and Shipping, granted for 1801	410,000
To make good deficiency of 3,100,000 Surplus Consolidated Fund, granted for 1801	2,676,080
Bounties on Rice and Corn to 5th Jan. 1802	1,275,544
Amount of Ex. Bills funded, including Interest thereon	8,729,576
	21,178,264
Deduct new Ex. Bills on Aids 1803	5,000,000
	16,178,264

That a difference of opinion was entertained respecting the effect of peace on the revenue, he knew, but was convinced, from every thing he had observed, that the taxes would not fall short of what they were in 1799. He would, however, take the year 1801 as a standard. On that calculation there would be a sum of £9,832,999 applicable to the public service. The right hon. gentleman concluded by moving, that a supply of £5,000,000, to be raised on Exchequer Bills, and charged on the first aids to be granted next session, should be granted to his Majesty. He also moved the sum of £114,000, being the surplus of grants for the year 1801. Both motions were put and carried. *Mr. Corry*, in a very able speech, then brought forward the details relative to the finances of Ireland. He commenced by stating some items which belonged to the services of last year, but were to be provided for in this; they amounted to £406,934. The charges of Ireland he divided into two parts; those chargeable on Ireland alone, and those borne by England and Ireland conjointly; the first amounting to £3,298,555 and the latter to £4,129,000. The right hon. gentleman then entered into a minute account of the Irish taxes, and maintained that an increase of £800,000 might be reasonably expected. With regard to the trade of Ireland, it was true that the exports had diminished, and the imports increased, but this arose from various circumstances, not likely to occur again. He concluded by moving resolutions, for a tax upon exports and imports, similar to that paid in England. The statements of the right hon. gentleman were controverted by *Mr. For-*

ster and *Mr. Tierney*. *Mr. Forster*, *Mr. Wickham*, *Mr. Vansittart*, *Mr. Archdall*, and *Lord Castlereagh* replied. A conversation was continued for some time, which ended in the resolutions, moved by *Mr. Corry*, being put and carried. Some business before the House was then forwarded, and the House adjourned till the next day.

The next day (Tuesday, June 15) little business of consequence came before the House. Several bills were read a first and second time, some reports were received, and the Foreign Offence Trial Bill, and the Election Ballot Bill, read a third time and passed.

Nothing occurred of importance the ensuing day (Wednesday, June 16). Some resolutions were agreed to, and some bills forwarded in their respective stages. No debate took place.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Paris, June 13.

The General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo to the Minister of the Marine and Colonies.

"*Head-Quarters at the Cape, May* 8, 1802.

"Citizen Minister,

"I hasten to send to you Citizen Bruyeres, my Aid-du-Camp, to inform you of the happy event of the re-establishment of tranquillity in this immense and beautiful colony.

"You have received dispatches containing the details of the military events which took place during the latter end of March and the beginning of April. Beaten every where, and dispersed, terror established itself in the camps of the rebels, who were without magazines, almost without powder, and who were reduced to live upon Bananas.

"The arrival of the squadrons from Flushing and Havre gave the last blow to the rebel power.

"Christophe informed me that he had always been a friend to the whites, whom he admired; that all the Europeans who had been at St. Domingo could attest his principles and his conduct; that imperious circumstances, which often decide the conduct of public men, had not left him at liberty to pursue that line of conduct which he wished; and, lastly, he desired to know if there was still any safety for him?—I replied, that with the French people there was always a door open to repentance; that it was the constant habit of the First Consul to weigh the actions of men, and that one crime alone, whatever might be its consequences, would never efface from his mind, services performed; that it was true, that the instructions I had received previous to my departure, were personally favourable to him; and lastly, that if he choose to place himself at my discretion, he should have reason to be satisfied.

"He still hesitated: several columns were ready to attack him; and some slight rencontres took place. At length, Christophe informed me that I had not sent to him any orders. I directed him to repair alone to the Cape; to send thither all the cultivators who were still with him, and to assemble all the troops who were under his orders. All this he punctually executed. More than 2000 inhabitants of the Cape, who were in the most distant hills, have returned. His magazines and artillery are in our possession, and about 1200 soldiers who were under his command, are united to our troops. A part of them have been disarmed, and sent back to culture; and the remainder I propose to incorporate with the colonial troops.

"The submission of Christophe completed the consternation of Toussaint. He employed every means to inform me of the unfortunate situation in which he found himself, and how much he saw with pain, that he was continuing a war without object, and without end. He added, that circumstances the most unfortunate, had already occasioned many evils, but that notwithstanding the force of the French army, he was still strong enough to ravage and destroy the country, and to sell dearly a life, which had been sometimes useful to the mother country.

"These communications, frequently reiterated, gave rise to the most serious reflections in my mind.

"Three-fourths of the colony had still escaped the miseries of desolation; and Toussaint and the blacks, although they had ravaged a part of the country, and carried on the war with extreme barbarity, had never seen France, had never received, during twelve years, any other than false ideas of our strength and our character.

"I informed Toussaint, that if he would repair to the Cape, pardon might yet be extended to him.

"Toussaint did not hesitate to profit by the permission I had given to him: he came to me, solicited for pardon, and swore to be faithful to France. I accepted his submission, and ordered him to repair to a plantation near Gonaives, and not to depart from it without my permission.

"I have placed Dessalines in a plantation near Saint Marc.

"All the cultivators who had been carried off, have returned. I have incorporated with the colonial troops, as many of the black soldiers as I thought might be allowed to continue under arms.

"The magazines, and the pieces of artillery which had been drawn up steep rocks, and hidden in the most secret places, are daily delivered up to us; there are still more than an hundred remaining.

"A new epoch commences: you will see by the arreté, and the measures which I have taken, that we are occupied with activity in organizing the administration of the country.

"The bad season has commenced, but the repose which our troops will now experience, will enable us to go through it with the least possible loss. We have abundance of provisions, thanks to your care.

"Health and respect,

(Signed) "LECLERC."

The Same to the Same.

"*Cape, May* 8, 1802.

"We are labouring to re-establish the Cape, with an activity which it is difficult to conceive. This town is rising out of its ashes.

"I cannot dissemble the mischief which has been done in several cantons of the colony; but having now, however, received the different accounts, I am convinced that more than three-fourths of the colony are untouched. The quarters of l'Artibonite, all the south part, the Mole, and Fort Liberté, are entirely preserved.

"American vessels arrive in crowds in our Ports, laden with flour, with deals, and other materials for building. Citizen Pichon writes me, that the Ame-

ricans are much discontented at the measure which I took at the moment of my arrival; but I think they are wrong. Agents of the American government were with Toussaint, who did not always suggest to him the best opinions.

" Muskets, powder, and cannon, were furnished with a renewed activity from the United States, as soon as the preliminary treaty was known there. It was natural, therefore, that I should take measures to prevent that communication with the rebels. Our commissaries in America were not sufficiently alive to the interests of the public purse. An unfortunate little brig which you sent thither cost 28,000 francs (£1,166 : 13 : 4). Citizen Pichon ought to have known that the brig was not worth half that sum.

" The National Commerce begins also to send out some vessels. I have given orders to place the colonial system in a state of activity as speedily as possible. Vessels coming from France pay no duty whatever on importation. They pay ten per cent. on exportation, but it may be found suitable to exact only five. As to the rest, I expect your directions forthwith. This can do no injury to commerce, as you can proportionably diminish the duties on West-India produce.

" The colony, otherwise, is in a situation to receive such commercial regulations as you may make; and if the great commercial towns prepare to furnish us with what we want, there will be little difficulty in reviving the edicts of 1784, respecting the customs.

" For the rest, Citizen Ministers, assure the First Consul that I shall not lose an instant in considering the instructions given to me, in every point of view, political and commercial; and that I shall regard the day when the national commerce will be alone sufficient for St. Domingo, as a happy day for myself and the army, as a colonial war ought to have for its result the triumph of commerce.

" I have sent General Dúgua into the south part: General Rochambeau is on the side of St. Marc.

" I can only pronounce an eulogy on the whole army; but I must make particular mention of the zeal and services of General Rochambeau.

" I must also praise the activity of the Chief Commissary Daure.

" Health and respect,
(Signed) " LECLERC."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Parliament is still detained by a long list of most momentous affairs. The important bill about *Ashes* and " *Pigeon's dung*," and the no less important bill about *Bull-baiting*, are, indeed, happily disposed of; but, there remain for discussion, or at least for passing the *Heath Fowl* Bill, the *Deer-stealing* Bill, the *Scotch Schoolmaster's* Bill, the *Hydrometre* (alias *Proof-glass* Bill,) the *Little Goes* Bill, and many others too tedious to mention. After the Parliament is dissolved, we shall, probably, find leisure to make a review of its proceedings. Rousseau says, that Englishmen are free only forty days in seven years, and that, the use they then make of their liberty, proves that they deserve to be slaves. What degree of truth there may be in this remark it is not in our power to determine; but, we shall endeavour, by our conduct during the approaching forty days, to wipe off from ourselves, at any rate, the charge which this hireling Swiss has brought against our country.

The bill for granting money to the Colony of Sierra Leona has passed the House of Commons, but will, very probably, be stopped in the Lords. The *sum* is not the object to be considered; though, when *poverty* obliges us to make a disgraceful peace, *ten thousand pounds* is, one would think, a sum worthy the attention of the *guardians* of the people's money. But, it is the principle, which this grant sanctions, that we regard as objectionable; and, we shall, in a short time, endeavour to convince the public, that every object, which the planners and supporters of this colony have in view, tend to the injury of Great-Britain.

In another part of the Register, we have continued our extract from the report of the Special Committee of the Court of East-India Directors, which extract we beg leave to recommend to the perusal of all those, who may not have an opportunity of seeing the report itself. We cannot but consider the subjects, to which this extract relates, as of very great importance. The question between Mr. Dundas and the East-India Company is no longer a thing to be decided by argument and calculation; but by *parliamentary force*. Both parties have thrown away the scabbard; but the hardy Thane, clad in the impenetrable armour, which nature has given him, and surrounded by his numerous and trusty clan, will, we fear, find little difficulty in discomfiting the fat and timid squadrons of Leadenhall Street. By those, who wish to possess correct information on political matters, great care should be taken to gather up, *now*, every thing relating to this dispute, which we cannot help regarding as the commencement of a struggle, which will finally end in the independence of " our Eastern Em-" pire." Mr. Dundas has resolved to rule that empire; and who shall say him nay? We shall, as we promised, offer our opinion on the subject of this dispute, when we have closed our extracts from the report of the Special Committee. We wish to think and to speak correctly; and, though we do certainly look with a suspicious eye on the projects of the minister, who lost ten thousand men and twenty millions of money in St. Domingo, we shall hear him with patience, and decide on his statements with impartiality.

It appears from the Dutch papers, that a proposition has been made to permit the

transit of British goods, in the same way as *during the war*, not as *before* the war, as it has been erroneously stated. A commercial arrangement with France will, probably, be the result of the negotiation now said to be begun in Downing Street; but, we have no scruple in predicting, that, for us, not one single advantage will be obtained, except by the sacrifice of some portion of our navigation laws. The ship-owners, who do, indeed, appear to be awake, at last, will do well to watch the progress of the negotiation; for, they have recently seen, that when the mischief is done, it is too late to complain. But, why should the ship-owners alone be looked to for resistance? Why should we not hope, that the whole nation would unite in opposing, inch by inch, any compact which should tend to the destruction of our naval power? Alas! there is no foundation for such hope. A people base enough to rejoice at the peace of Amiens, would give up their last cannon for the sake of selling a single bale of cottons or a crate of crockery.

The news from St. Domingo has, we understand, filled Downing-street with consternation; and well it may; for Leclerc will now have time to *look about* him, and woe be unto the island on which he shall fix his affection. While we sincerely lament, that any thing should happen favourable to the views of France, we cannot, however, totally suppress that satisfaction, which merely as politicians we may be allowed to feel at the accomplishment of a prediction, in which we have, during several months, persisted, in opposition to the opinions of ninety-nine hundredths of the people, not excepting our own readers. We shall indulge ourselves here, in quoting one of the prognostications relative to this subject, from Cobbett's Letters to Lord Hawkesbury, on the Preliminaries of Peace, 2d edition, p. 64.

" It is absolutely impossible but Tous-
" saint must fall in a struggle against the
" French Government, disengaged from
" every embarrassment, and having at her
" nod thousands and tens of thousands
" of soldiers, officers, and generals, inured
" to all the fatigues and dangers of war,
" and emboldened by victory. For some
" time, perhaps, the mountains in the cen-
" tre of the island may shelter the strug-
" gling remnant of the sable battalions, a
" tribe of savage marcons may thus be
" formed, to live upon wild fruits, terrify
" the settlers in the vicinity of the moun-
" tains, and steal their hogs and poultry;
" but, destitute of arms and ammunition,
" what can they do against a colony, pow-
" erful in itself, and supported by a mo-
" ther country which has given law to all
" Europe? In short, it would be totally
" impossible for these wandering fugitives
" to exist long in time of peace. The
" rigour of the republican measures, and the
" dispatch with which they are executed,
" are well known. Buonaparté would
" only have to say, as in the case of the
" unfortunate Chouans, " *qu'on me dise,*
" *avant six jours,* QU'ILS ONT VÉCU!"

" In answer to this, my lord, your parti-
" zans, will cry '*so much the better!*' Nay,
" these sapient politicians go so far as to
" assert, that by a secret article of your
" treaty, Great-Britain is to assist Buona-
" parté in re-establishing the colonial sys-
" tem of the island, and, of course, in mak-
" ing war against its present ruler, whose
" title is much better than that of Buona-
" parté's, and with whom, be it remember-
" ed, my lord, Great-Britain *has at this*
" *moment a treaty of amity and commerce!*
" However, since we happened to come
" too late to preserve this island in a flou-
" rishing state for our enemy, the only
" way of obtaining pardon for our negli-
" gence is to lend a hand in repairing the
" injuries which have arisen therefrom.

" But, my lord, be assured that Buona-
" parté will find a way of doing this with-
" out our aid; I will venture to foretell
" the destiny of the Negro army, which
" amounts to from 30 to 40,000 men, and
" the existence of which you regard as in-
" compatible with that of the colonial sys-
" tem, not only of St. Domingo, but of our
" islands also. This army, my lord, divid-
" ed in its councils, corrupted or intimi-
" dated, will be very soon beaten, and in
" great part *destroyed*; for, to conquer and
" to spare, is by no means a republican
" maxim. Those who escape the lead and
" the steel will not amount to many thou-
" sands; and, lest they should again trou-
" ble the tranquillity of the island, they
" will be employed, together with the very
" army, by whom they have been con-
" quered, to invade, to subdue, to lay
" waste, and destroy our Island of Jamai-
" ca, which is separated from them by a
" distance of not many hours sail. Spanish
" America will be their next prey; a prey
" which they will very quietly seize on, in
" spite of our Island of Trinidada, which is
" doubtless a second Garden of Eden, since
" we have given up the wide world to ob-
" tain it."

Now, we beg the reader to compare the opinions given in this passage, with the

events, as related in Leclerc's dispatches. The negro army *have* been divided in their councils, they *have* been corrupted or intimidated; one after another the black generals have deserted Toussaint; they *have* been driven into the centre of the island, their ammunition and provisions *have* been cut off; they *have* been soon beaten. and the remnant of the sable battalions *have* been formed into legions, and are now prepared to fight under the banners of their conqueror.

The infatuation, which has prevailed here, respecting the result of the French expedition to St. Domingo, will, unless we explain the cause of it, be totally unaccountable to those of our readers, who may happen to reside in foreign countries. What men ardently *desire*, they are very apt to *belicve*; and, from a singular combination of motives, almost every man in the kingdom, ardently desired, that the French might be defeated in St. Domingo; or, at least, that the war might be of very long duration. The ministerialists desired it, as a justification of their conduct in permitting the armament to sail, and as a diversion of the power of France, which, however great their ignorance and indifference, they must view with some degree of apprehension. They hoped, that the French army would be commanded by a second General Maitland; that it would perish, some how or other; that another would be sent; that that would perish also; and so on, for ten or a dozen years. The ministerial writers, therefore, constanly affected to dread the failure of the expedition, but, at the same time, used every art to persuade their readers, that such failure was inevitable.—The democratic papers, of which there are no small number, wished success to Toussaint merely upon a levelling principle; merely because he was, in name, at least, a rebel.—The Puritans and Philanthropists (who are very nearly related) prayed and sighed for the negro, the former regarding him as one of the elect (for the *blacker* the sinner the brighter the saint), and the latter as a "fellow man", a brother citizen of the world.—Then, as to the gentlemen of the army, whose opinions must, on such a subject, have much weight with the public, the reputation of their body in no small degree depended upon the complete success of Toussaint. *They* had tried their skill and courage against him, and they had failed; it was, therefore, impossible for them not to desire, that the French should also fail; because they must have anticipated, in the contrary event, the *comparison* which the world would draw between French and British officers; a comparison which ought to be drawn, and at which, in an address to that gallant officer, General Maitland, we shall next week make an humble attempt.—Besides these particular causes of infatuation, there was one more general, and more honourable to the parties; we mean, a hatred of France, and a wish to see her fail in every thing that might, either directly or indirectly, tend to the extension of her power, or the increase of her riches. — The channels, too, through which we received our intelligence, were well calculated to distort and disguise every thing. The people of Jamaica were by no means desirous to see the lands of St. Domingo restored to cultivation, nor to see the army of Leclerc at leisure to step across to their little island; all news from that quarter, therefore, was sure to be rendered as gloomy as possible; and, if we recollect right, the very last letters from Jamaica, affect to regard the expedition as "hopeless." From the United States of America more truth might have been expected, had not Leclerc seized on the American cargoes, and sent home the captains full of bitterness against him. Thus was that source poisoned; and the credit, which might have been paid to the official dispatches, was constantly impaired, or destroyed, by the insinuations contained in our prints (particularly the *ministerial* ones), of *private* letters from Leclerc, contradicting the public ones, and of the prohibition, which was laid on the prints at Paris; not to circulate the knowledge of certain disastrous events, which were, from time to time, said to have happened to the French army.

Owing to all these causes it is, that this nation has been completely deceived with respect to one of the most interesting and important events that ever took place, in any part of the world; an event which, at once, gives to France a decided superiority in the West-Indies, lays the sure and certain foundation for a revival of her commercial and naval greatness, at the same time that it exposes our most valuable colonies to be attacked at her pleasure, and, of course, diminishes the value of those colonies, while it increases the expense of maintaining them. In fact, it lays the axe to the root of our West-India system, and we shall be very much surprized, if England should hold an island in those seas, ten years from this day. "Then farewell, a long farewell, to all our greatness!"

The Negro-loving philanthropists affect

to believe, that Toussaint has ended the war "*honourably*;" that he has obtained "*terms*;" that the French have been compelled to "*respect*" him. The *terms* he and his two Lieutenant-Generals have obtained, are, to come instantly in, alone and unarmed, and to submit to the *discretion* of Leclerc, who did not promise to spare even their *lives*. He has sent them to three different plantations; that is to say, to be shut up in three houses, which are on those plantations; and if he does not hang them (which we hope will be the case), he will crown his most brilliant campaign by an act of generosity worthy of a conqueror. As Henry VII. placed Perkin Warbeck in his kitchen, so Leclerc would do well to place Toussaint on the box of his carriage, an office which he formerly filled with great reputation.

Much pains will be taken to disfigure the history of this war, of which we shall, therefore, take an early opportunity to give a succinct account, in two or three letters addressed to General Maitland; and, in the mean time, we beg of our readers, to give no credit to the numerous tales, which will be invented with a view to diminish, in the eyes of the people of this country, the value, the fearful importance, of that immense colony, of which our enemy has, by the remissness of His Majesty's Ministers, in so short a space of time, obtained a complete possession.

The mouth of the Mississippi presents a scene by no means uninteresting. Some of the London papers have lately stated, that Gen. Bowles, the Indian Chief, or rather the Chief of the Chiefs, has been defeated and taken prisoner by the Spaniards. We do not believe this. Letters from Nassau, of the 14th of April, speak of no such event; but, on the contrary, represent Gen. Bowles as presenting a very formidable aspect to his foes. Some time after his return from this country, he was chosen Director General of the nations inhabiting the territory of West and great part of East Florida. His principal station is at Espiritu Santo Bay, where he has established a Court of Admiralty, and granted commissions to cruize against the Spaniards, with whom he is at war. He had, previous to the 14th of April, made several prizes, one of which had been seized at Nassau (New Providence), and a suit had been commenced respecting it, in the Admiralty Court at that place. He acknowledges no allegiance to this country, nor to any other. He is the lawful sovereign of the territory which he inhabits, and is perfectly independent of all nations; an independence which, we trust, he will be able for ever to maintain. He has skill and courage; all that he wants is, *powder* and *lead*; and, well supplied with these, as we hope he will be, he will give some annoyance to the legions of Buonaparté, who will find in him a foe very different indeed from the silly, wavering, cowardly Toussaint.

PRICES OF THE PUBLIC FUNDS.

	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.	FRI.
Bank Stock	—	—	183	184	184	—
3 per Cent Red. Ann.	72½	72½	72½	72⅞	73⅛	73¼
3 per Cent Consols..	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 per Cent Consols..	87½	87⅜	87½	88	88⅛	89⅛
5 per Cent Ann.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank Long Ann....	20⅝	20⅝	20⅝	20⅞	21	21
D° Short 1778 & 1779	5	4⅞	5	5	5	5
Imp. 3 per Cent.....	—	70⅞	71	71⅛	71¼	72¼
D° Ann.....	12	—	12	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛
5 per Cent 1797....	103	103⅛	103¼	103⅜	104⅛	104⅜
Omnium (discount)	1	1¼	1	¼	⅛	¼
India Stock.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Bonds.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
South-Sea Stock....	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° Old Ann.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
D° New.....	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 per Cent. 1751....	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Navy Bills....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Exchequer d°	—	—	—	—	—	—
Irish 5 per Cent....	99	—	99½	100	100¼	100½
Irish Debentures....	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lottery Tickets....	—	—	—	—	—	—

FRENCH STOCKS.—Tiers Consolidé, 55 f. 60 c.

Bread *Ten Pence Farthing* the Quartern Loaf.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. c.f.	10 17	us.	LEGHORN 51
D°, at sight	10 13		NAPLES..... 44
ROTTERDAM..	10 18	us.	GENOA 47
HAMBURGH..	33 4	2½us.	VENICE, 30¼ livres piccole effective per £. ster.
ALTONA	33 5	2½us.	LISBON..... 67
PARIS 1 day	23 15		OPORTO 67¼
BOURDEAUX,	24 1		DUBLIN..... 12⅛
CADIZ	34	in paper	BILBOA..... 36 D°
DITTO	35½	effective	PALERMO ....
MADRID ..	34	in paper	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.
DITTO	36¼	effective	

OBSERVATIONS ON THE WEATHER, *near Guildford, in Surrey, for the Month of June*, 1802.

Days.	M's Age	Weather.	Winds. M.	Winds. A.	Barometer. Inches. M.	Barometer. Inches. A.	Thermometer. Degrees. M.	Thermometer. Degrees. A.
10		Rain.	SW	SW	29,5	29,55	55,5	58
11		Fine.	SW	SW	29,6	29,6	59	62,5
12		Sho. Fair.	SW	SW	29,73	29,75	59,8	63
13		Sho. Fair.	SW	SW	29,81	29,84	60	63
14		Fine.	SW	SW	29,99	29,9	61	65
15	○	Fine.	NW	NW	30,03	30,01	69	69
16		Fine.	WNW	WNW	30,03	30	68	71

● *New Moon* ☾ *1st. Quar.* ○ *F. Moon.* ☽ *last Quar.*

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